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**How the Artistic Dividend Can Improve Economic Development in  
Historically Segregated Black Communities**

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**How the Artistic Dividend Can Improve Economic Development in  
Historically Segregated Black Communities**

BY

**Caleb Isaiah Roberts**

**Report**

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## **DEDICATION**

Thank you to my family for supporting me through the completion of this report. It has taken a lot of check-in texts and phone calls for me to get through this process. So, thank you all for reminding me that life does not always take on the direction that I am expecting it to and helping me realize that I am capable of handling which ever direction it does go. I hope you all find the result worthwhile.

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**ABSTRACT**

**How the Artistic Dividend Can Improve Economic Development in  
Historically Segregated Black Communities**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2018

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Major initiatives to develop of artistic and cultural activity can diversify a city's economic base and help revive neighborhoods or districts. The purpose of this report is to analyze how artistic dividends can influence a neighborhood and lay the groundwork for economic development and new employment opportunities. By establishing a community based effort to support artists and build up artistic and cultural clustering, a new channel can be created to bring value to a community that was not previously present or expressed. I explore how an initiative to develop artistic and cultural activity in an historically African American neighborhood in Milwaukee could help reverse the long-term effects of segregation and disinvestment. A review of the literature and four cases in different cities suggests that targeted, community led interventions to revive the physical, economic and cultural spaces in distressed communities can lead to significant economic change and revitalization incorporating artistic and cultural production. The viability of an artistic dividend at the community scale relies on the ability to create artistic cluster, for that clustering process to result positive economic change that effects the community on an equitable and just level. Milwaukee is in need of new, innovative efforts to transform neighborhoods that have been excluded from economic and cultural opportunities not only solidify the ideals that permeate the city, but also to use the creation of culture to bring about economic benefits that repair and embrace all the cities communities.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Art can be a bridge between what is only imagined and what is tangible; it is the act of an artist moving a thought, dream, or emotion into reality. Artistry in the context of an African American community can range from the type of house and place where people live, creative works of art, or artistic or cultural activities that break free from the white racial frame. Art expands in such a broad definition because it takes creativity and artistic expression to create and express Black culture within a society that is not built to support Blackness. Black residents of urban areas have experienced a tremendous amount of discrimination and disinvestment. Robyn Kelley claims that Black people's ability to dream outside of racial constraints is the key to creating communities that will support their goal (Kelley, 2002). Kelley describes dreaming as a process of creating place within your own ideals, it is a concept of theorizing or brainstorming a sense of place. The ideals that are produced from the dreams and aspirations of disadvantaged communities are key to providing plans and actions that will challenge status quo operations. Kelly is describing how Black communities could create place.

Because of the rise of Neoliberalism and color-blind perspectives, which can be described as an ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition, and also ideologies and policies that eliminate conversations that consider the impact of race, Black people have a greater need to express themselves in artistic and cultural forms. This is due to the ability of constructed color-blind ideals that legitimize and normalize the history of racial discrimination through attributing the reality of things like the racial wealth gap to individual choices and normal market forces. This perspective ignores a long history of racial oppression that affects every aspect of our environments that occurred due to building racist institutions and behaviors inconsistent with common “free” market principles. It also disadvantages groups of people affected by racism and prejudice by grouping their concerns with the concerns of society at large. The planning field is bound up in the history and future of Black space because of its contribution to normalizing discrimination across urban spaces and communities. Therefore, understanding the historic role of planning in segregating communities and discriminating in the provision and access to housing and services will be important in understanding the effects of disinvestment due to segregation and can provide critical insights for situating support for Black art in the future of communities.

The artistic dividend refers to the effects of long-term investment in art education, art organizations, and artists. Creating an artistic dividend is way for planning to address the dreams of the Black community by using the Black imaginary to create spaces for themselves. Investment into the long-term effects of art in Black communities can help the Black imaginary break free of the confines of racist normalcy in American society. Katherine McKittirck describes American society as being a sum of discourses about normalcy and how normalcy is made and remade at important historical junctures

(McKittirck, 2006). She continues on the subject by stating that if people can identify how racist normalcy occurs in their own lives, based upon their history and lived experience, then they can construct measures to break the mold. In this context, Black artistry holds the power for separating from institutions based in racism through the creative re-imagining of a space of normalcy to free expressions of self and culture. Larry Neal claims that Black Art along with Black Power are tied to the Afro-American desire for self-determination and nationalism (Neal, 1968). More broadly concepts that can be found in Black art are contradictory to the normalcy of racial injustice in the U.S. rooted in the systematic historic exclusion of the African American experience in American institutions and ideals. If art can help Black communities showcase their desires and sense of self, then using art to create place can solidify Black perspectives.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This report seeks to understand how an artistic dividend can change patterns of discrimination, disinvestment and exclusion in urban environments. As an extension of this question, the report will also consider why the development of art and cultural activity is important to helping mitigate and counteract disinvestment. In addition, this work will evaluate the potential of artistic and cultural development in a specific community; the City of Milwaukee's 53206 zip code, a largely African American community that has experienced years of disinvestment. This report will evaluate how artistic dividends can be viable avenues for community revitalization, drawing upon the artistic and cultural specializations already present within the city.

## **METHODOLOGY**

To complete this report an extensive literature review was conducted on the economic and social effects of artistic and cultural development. This is followed by an analysis of multiple cases of artistic dividends generated by targeted community development initiatives in different urban neighborhoods or districts. The literature review describes these cases and analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of each. The analysis continues with the history of the city of Milwaukee and the surrounding metro region, then specifically looking at the 53206 zip code. The metro region and study area is described through historic and contemporary census data including population and socioeconomic characteristics. Occupational employment data for the Milwaukee metro region from the Occupational Employment Statistics (OES) of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is used to estimate employment and specialization in artistic and cultural industries. In addition, I use historical data and documents to illustrate redlining and other forms of discrimination with the city of Milwaukee.

## **PLAN OF THE WORK**

Following the introduction, this report is broken into four chapters to articulate how the creation of an artistic dividend through the formulation of strong artistic economic clusters can contribute the revitalization of an historic African American neighborhood. The second section explains how artistic dividends and artistic clusters have been effective in revitalizing urban communities across the U.S. Using the history of the City of Milwaukee, the third chapter will show the feasibility of revitalization based on the development of artistic and cultural activity and the potential benefits associated with generating an artistic dividend. The fourth chapter will take a deeper dive into the City of Milwaukee's 53206 zip code as an area that has suffered from historic discrimination and where the development of artistic and cultural activities around former Bronzeville area in this zip code could be a driver of economic revitalization. Lastly, the report will conclude with recommendations for how Milwaukee and similar communities can use the artistic dividend to not only increase economic activity but create new places and identities in Black communities that have experienced years of disinvestment and discrimination.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE EFFECTS OF ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY ON URBAN ENVIRONMENTS**

### **WHY ART MOVEMENTS ARE BENEFICIAL FOR CITIES AND REGIONS**

Art is an integral part of creating attractive and vibrant spaces. Art has the ability to dually express and create culture. Some artists use art as a social contradiction that others may identify with, while others may use it in support of idea, person, or place. The diversity in expression allows art to influence all facets of an urban environment making it integral to the creation and maintenance of culture. Stern and Siefert describe the creative sector as making new urban realities adaptable, meaning that creativity can build resilience into urban cities (Stern and Siefert, 2017). Because urban economies are becoming more decentralized and diverse, there are more niches where the creative sector can add value. For example, artists can provide logos, websites and advertising for small and large business in numerous sectors. Artists are able to brand and showcase businesses and area attractions in ways that connect to the community around them and will build their relationships and connection to the unique aspects of the culture of cities and regions. Therefore, many different options are available for communities, cities, and regions to adapt their culture to larger social themes and trends. This provides spaces for artists to act as change agents, able to reimagine the same spaces and realities in multiple ways.

Artists, as explained by Markusen and Schrock, can be influential in changing culture because of how they can attach themselves to the fabric of the community (Markusen and King, 2003). For example, if a small business owner requires advertising, local artists could create a unique mural on the side of their storefront instantly making it a landmark in the community. The effects of the artistic sector can be experienced in many ways by city residents in both the public and private realms allowing all people to benefit from the skills and unique contributions of the artists. Becker describes the ability of artists to affect many different sectors of an economy as the artistic dividend. (Becker, 1982). An artistic dividend from and within Black communities can act as a major catalyst for change, pride and revitalization in their communities. The positive effects artistic dividends generate in Black communities can, moreover, spillover to the broader urban community and provide benefits to the entire metro region. Becker continues by describing the artistic dividend as a type of public good, generating returns exceeding past investments from funders, patrons, arts organizations and artists themselves in the form of additional human and physical capital that make up the art world in regional economies (Becker, 1982). As a public good, the artistic dividend can, in theory be consumed by everyone without excluding non-payers or exhausting the resource. This concept frames the effects of art as a positive externality and a public good that everyone consumes and benefits from; in addition to, or in place of a particular market exchanges between artists and customers. Similar to how strong education systems, walkable streets, and clean air are not appropriately or

fully valued by the prices in market exchanges, the positive externalities of these public goods are felt by the whole community over time and support the expansion of the economic sphere. Markusen and King state that the artistic dividend is a product of the commitments made by philanthropists, patrons and most importantly the public sector to art organizations, art education, and individual artists. They continue to define the actual dividends as current income streams and returns to the region flowing from past investments (Markusen and King, 2003). However, the creation of art from the perspective of Markusen and King can have long lasting and growing effects on the area that outweighs the impact or intent of the initial work of art.

A mural commissioned in a disenfranchised area may cause the area to immediately look more interesting or attractive, but the effect of creating a mural of a Black woman that makes the space more attractive for Black women to live and work in the space exceeds the or initial impact of the investment. Cities and regions hence must approach investment into art as both a private and a public good and think of its effects in term of externalities influencing the psyche and life qualities of its residents as well as aesthetics and specific economic returns.

#### **NEED FOR CULTURAL CLUSTERS**

The potential of major art movements in specific communities can depend on a city's ability to support and attract artists and build cultural clusters. Cultural clusters have the capacity to generate artistic dividends due to the co-location of many similar artists and associated activities. Wolman and Hicapie suggest that social and culture systems play a role in network formation, information sharing, and collaboration between different organizations (Wolman and Hicapie, 2014) Artists can be drawn to a region by the strength and diversity of philanthropic organization, the quality of art establishments and the visibility and reputation of an artistic milieu. Investment into art creates can create or deepen a cultural cluster in an area and that can also draw in artists that were not previously in the area or draw out resident artists who had not been active previously. Markusen and King claim that artists are more likely than other workers to travel across states for work (Markusen and King, 2003). The development of an art culture within a region can spur artists to relocate to a city or an area in search of support for their craft. Markusen and Schrock judge the strength of an area's artistic dividend on the over-representation of a specific artistic occupations. This form of artistic dividend emerges from the benefits of spillovers in knowledge among artists when they begin to co-locate.

Co-location is a major concern for artists because their work benefits from being in an area that respects and demands quality works of art. Co-location also spurs collaboration, access to work spaces and exchanges of information with other artists. According to Markusen and King, too many people view art as

just affecting the local economy in a static sense and underestimate the total positive externalities artists gain through various forms of collaboration and collective support. (Markusen and King, 2003). The co-location of artists further provides a positive effect outside of the local economy, impacting regional markets through their impact on regional images, cultural identities, branding and service design.

This research will focus on how neighborhoods can benefit from the co-location of artists in their areas. The benefit of co-location can be explained succinctly as the result of shared inputs that can be used to produce many different types of goods within a large city (Quigley, 1998). For example, a collection of beekeepers in an area can produce a large amount of wax; and an artist who has a need for wax can use the co-location of beekeepers as an advantage to secure a cheap supply of wax for their art. This is the reason that art can be a great primer for struggling communities because it can have multiple local effects and be adaptable to the strengths of a neighborhood, city, or region.

A key requirement for this process is a strong concentration of artists needed to achieve this positive dynamic. Unfortunately, artists do not typically co-locate in struggling cities or places because they would like to produce art in places that are already conducive to their crafts and provide attractive markets for artistic production. Gaining a core of artists to build a better economy may have to extend outside of the bounds of a specific community or city to produce specific effects. Meaning that regionally located artists may have the task of producing art for a specific area of the city or the region. In general, the prospects of successful artistic and cultural development in a community or neighborhood are better when there are strong specializations or clusters at the regional scale. Using regional artistic strengths to create specific change can help struggling cities build the type of artistic spatial density to gain the artistic dividend. This exemplifies the diversity in outcomes that a co-location of talent, artists, and artistic spaces produce. As stated before, a regional approach can be seen as important for obtaining the density of artists needed for significant neighborhood or area effects.

#### **THE BENEFITS OF ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY FOR HISTORICALLY DISENFRANCHISED AREAS**

The success of artistic dividends lies in the ability of an area to create a cluster of artists. The review of case studies on the effects of art investment on neighborhoods will report how each case aimed to create art cluster. If an art cluster was created, then how did that creation create long-term economic change in the area. Also, was the economic growth in the case equitable or did it ignore racialized, discriminatory histories throughout the redevelopment. Each component is critical to understanding how an artistic dividend can be used to help areas affected by disinvestment through segregation and other racist policies grow economically.

## **FOUNTAIN SQUARE**

Fountain Square Indianapolis is an example of how public and private investments can help rebuild an area by drawing upon a rich prior history of cultural expression. Fountain square was home to a major art and cultural center throughout the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Using music and theatre as the main calling cards Fountain Square gave rise to places like Arthur's Music Store, which has operated for 65 years in the area. The decline in the Fountain Square neighborhood can be partly attributed to the construction of I-65/70 highway that cut into the fabric of the original fountain square neighborhood area (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017). Brian Smith, a reporter for Indianapolis monthly, tells the story about how the purchasing the cornerstone of the new Fountain Square, the Murphy Art Center, lead to the city extending a cultural trail to the Fountain Square area. Because of that extension of new artistic activity into the area, the broader Fountain Area development became possible (Smith, 2017)

The Fountain Square community went through decades of decline from its rich arts tradition. The community was the home to eleven theaters and operated as a major commercial district in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017). Beginning with a \$25 million in investment over a 20-year period from the Local Initiatives Support Corporation – LISC (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017) and continuing with the help of Southeast Neighborhood Development INC (SEND), there was significant investment that over time revived the Fountain Square as arts and entertainment district. The investment groups accomplished this by renovating old cultural centers such as historic Fountain Square Theatre Building with a \$400,000 loan from LISC (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017). Stemming from that first investment, other redevelopments that were built to support artistic uses helped create a local cluster in the Fountain Square area. Metris Arts, a planning consulting firm, continues with their analysis of the Fountain Square redevelopment by stating that the project did foster significant redevelopment in the area over time. The development can be attributed to the renovation of both the Murphy and the Wheeler buildings, which SEND helped invest in to create galleries, studios, and live/work units to bring artists into the area (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017). Both buildings serve as focal points for the corridor and stimulated the inflow on artists, exhibitions and the local artistic production that connects to the historic cultural legacy of this district.

The success of the project has, however, raised property values in the area and now presents a problem for maintaining affordability and equity for area residents. Indeed, there has been strong pushback from working class residents and organizations that state that the Fountain Square redevelopment projects have ignored working class residents. Fountain Square does show how public and private sectors can work together for the economic betterment of a particular area. The area has experienced a lot of commercial success, such as being featured on the HGTV show "Two Chicks and a Hammer," but the accumulation of artists has dwindled over the years as cost of living have gone up (Nicodemus and Engh, 2017). Some

longer-term residents claim that only people with the money to invest in property before the revitalization process in area are profiting from the growth. Fountain Square has not solved the crucial issues of equity and displacement common to many successful urban redevelopment projects. Smith continues this narrative by stating that the artists who contributed to the revival of Fountain Square area are now leaving for other places. In the article, Smith questions if the exodus of artists is because of them being priced out or if the artists are moving on to find better spaces or face other challenges. Either way the change in the area is diminishing the vibrancy of the artistic cluster and threatens the long term character of the Fountain Square district (Smith 2017).

### **.PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**

A unique characteristic of the Pennsylvania Avenue area redevelopment case in Pittsburgh is that the effort was spearheaded by a community group that started the change process in the area. Metris Arts outlines how there are two very different neighborhoods that border the Penn Ave area. Friendship was a town of poor white residents, but who were also highly educated; while Garfield district was a mostly Black community that had been experiencing a long history of disinvestment and population loss (Walker, Engh 2017). The Garfield community had high vacancy rates, and this was associated with crime and unease along the corridor. Metris describes how a community group; Friendship Development Associates was able to advocate for the city to use subsidies to attract artists to the area who in turn could affect change in the neighborhoods image and characteristics. Out of this community initiative, The Friendship Development Associates was formed to stimulate business development and revitalization, using place making tactics to create change in the area. This group then joined forces with a non-profit development group, the Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation. Together the groups created the PAAI, Penn Avenue Arts Initiative, hired a full-time organizer to build small arts festivals and broker property deals. The City of Pittsburgh took 16 foreclosed properties in the neighborhood that were the owned by the city and transferred them to PAAI and BGC, giving each group 8 properties each (Walker, Engh 2017) To actively serve the community PAAI received investments from the city and other private entities to produce custom-designed subsidy packages to also provide low-income housing in the area.

<b>Penn Avenue Arts Initiative (PAAI)</b>	
	<b>Amount (\$)</b>
<b>Neighborhood Allies Capacity Building Grants</b>	<b>715,000</b>
<b>East End Growth Fund Program Grants</b>	<b>100,000</b>
<b>East End Growth Fund 0% interest, forgivable loans</b>	<b>59,000</b>
<b>Total PAAI Support</b>	<b>874,000</b>

*Values rounded to the nearest thousand*

Table 1: Penn Ave Funding (Walker, Engh 2017)

The longer-term results of the investments made to Penn Ave include a decline in vacancy rates in the area from 43% to 18% and the notable increase in overall activity along the strip. “PAAI provided local businesses \$815,000 in real estate project funding, of which LISC invested \$375,000 in loans and grants, and PPND provided another \$172,000 in early-stage pre-development funding,” Including recent 2016 investments in affordable housing for veterans and artist housing, LISC provided \$8.8 million of the almost \$12 million overall project investment (Walker, Engh 2017, pg.6).

The PAAI initiatives were successful in creating new economic development opportunities along Penn Ave, which capitalized on the diverse neighborhoods surrounding the street. The initiative was able to promote space for art and art -related business creating a strong cluster of artists and artisans who are able to share resources with one another. PAAI created a monthly event, called Unblurred, that profiled shows and public events from local organizations and promoted businesses and vacant buildings in the area. Unblurred helped Penn Ave showcase its development citywide and brought more people to the area. A quote from Nino Barbuto of Assemble, an agency that creates summer camps and classes based on arts and technology, says “We share tables, hammers, coffee, sugar. We do different events, write different grants,

with BOOM Concepts and Bunker Projects gallery” (Walker, Engh 2017). Creating connections between different organizations stimulated collaborations and joint projects and exhibitions along the Penn Ave. corridor. The increased activity on the street has positively affected the crime rate in the area, as more people walking the streets and engaging with each other reduced the chances of it continuing as a hub for criminal activity. There is evidence that the initiative had many positive effects and achieved a lot of the goals that the community groups wanted to see (Walker, Engh 2017).

However, in the case study, LISC and Metris do state that some of the interviews they conducted show that Black residents do not express the same of feeling of success as others about the Penn Ave initiative. This maybe a result of how the initiative was created. The Neighborhood of Friendship, which is mostly low-income whites, created the development group and built PAAI with Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation leaving the Black neighborhood of Garfield outside the core revitalization initiative. Creating an initiative that excluded one the main neighborhoods was discriminatory from its inception because it aimed to “fix” an area mostly comprising Black residents without direct participation from the community. The benefits of the resulting growth did not reach Black businesses or artists as effectively as it should have, mainly due to a lack of understanding of how to be equitable and inclusive, according to the article (Walker, Engh 2017). There are recent reports of the Garfield community, and the Black population in general, becoming more engaged with Penn Ave because of art groups such as BOOM Concepts; which supports music, spoken word, and other forms of art that are more centered around social justice and existing residents. Still, the Penn Ave study shows that inclusion across the community was not a major factor in the core revitalization planning and implementation activities or the seeding of artistic and cultural activities. Black concerns were secondary in the planning and development process, even though the Black community had historically occupied the area.

#### **NORTH SHORE CLEVELAND**

The development of the North Shore neighborhood of Collinwood in Cleveland, Ohio brings a perspective into how private investment can help stabilize a declining area and create an impetus for local and regional government support. The Collinwood Neighborhood area lost a resident every 56 hours for 70 years (from 1940-2010) and was home to a struggling, but vital music scene with the Beachland Ballroom serving as the cornerstone (Walker, Engh 2017). With the help of Northeast Shores Development Corporation, a community development corporation, 15 artists have been able to buy homes through North Shores' home buying assistantship program (Walker, Engh 2017). The development corporation used connections to public programs to assist homeowners but also providing support for potential homebuyers using their own programs as well. The development company also owns an apartment building that

includes studio space for artist. North Shore Development can also be credited with helping to launch 300 community art projects. The coupling of the home buying assistance programs and the launching of community arts projects catalyzed a highly successful revitalization process. The Collinwood Neighborhood area now has a 94% occupancy rate, up from a 40% occupancy rate in prior decades (Walker, Engh 2017). Because of the success of the home buying program and the clustering of artists, mainly related to the music scene in the area, the city supplied \$5.5 million dollars for streetscape improvements that made the area more conducive for walking (Walker, Engh 2017).

Proving that the city wanted to support the growth of the area, and invest in the continued growth of the arts scene they agreed to fund a set of community arts projects. North Shore then asked residents to vote on what community art projects would be funded. These funded arts projects are surveyed yearly to make sure that the projects are serving the needs of the residents. The Collinwood project shows how public and private interests can be work together to build community ownership and involvement with the development of an area. North Shores provides a narrative about how one corporation can engrain itself with a community and force positive change. The case did not divulge how the home buying programs or community art projects affecting any history of discrimination in the area. 81% of residents believed that artists were making Collinwood a better place (Walker, Engh 2017).

#### **SOUTHEASTERN HOUSTON ARTS INITIATIVE**

Southeastern Houston was a place without a name; there was not a specific identity or draw to the neighborhood other than Houston's first outdoor mall which has not been a significant commercial center since the 50's and 60's (Nicodemus, 2012). Southeast Houston can certainly be classified as an area of white flight. During integration in the south, Black families moved into the area, while white families moved out to create other suburbs (Blue, 2012). This process of racial change resulted in an area that is today mostly minority residents. Unlike the other case studies examined, Southeastern Houston is an area mainly occupied predominantly by Black citizens. 83% of the households in the community are Black families and 9% of the households are Hispanic (Nicodemus, 2012). This is an aging community in that over 40% of the owner occupied housing in the area was owned by people 65 or older (Nicodemus, 2012). Nearly 60% of all households in the make under \$40,000 annually, and almost 40% of households make under \$20,000 annually. Affected by economic downturn in the 80s, the area was in need of help because of the negative impacts of low income concentration and significant problems with crime. The community was diverse and had a base of long term residents and homeowners, but was in need of a defining feature and new momentum to promote revitalization.

The Southeastern Houston Arts Initiative was created by Professor Carroll Blue, who is a research professor at the University of Houston's Center for Public History. She was able to pull together a team to fight for the Our Town Grant Opportunity through the National Endowment for the Arts (Nicodemus, 2012). The partners were the University of Houston, OST/Almeda Corridors Redevelopment Authority, and the Dawn Project (Blue's 501c3 organization), with the University of Houston and the City of Houston named as the lead partners (Nicodemus, 2012). The project was mainly centered on community engagement and making sure the community was able to develop the area in a way that was shaped by the needs and preferences of existing resident. The Southeastern Houston community created a strategic planning process that developed a plan that focused on the connectivity of this district to key activity centers in the City of Houston. The proximity of the area to the central business district, University of Houston, Texas Medical Center, and Texas Southern University gives the area potential to access and engage the major activity and job centers. Through the grant from the National Endowment of the Arts and \$15,000 of staff and salary expenses donated in-kind from the University of Houston, a plan was developed that focused on a specific set of goals: the promotion and development of bike/trail paths that lead to the economic anchors in the area; the creation of spaces for cultural programing, art and media installations; and a community garden.

The main effect of the initiative started by Professor Blue were the connections that the community made during the planning process. Artists, designers, homeowners, and businesses were able to create common ground on what they wanted to see in their communities. These community conversations led to a strategic plan, *Pathways to Southeast Houston's Future* and the creation of SEHTA (Southeast Houston Transformation Alliance) (Nicodemus, 2012). The strategic plan led to a number of art installations that are on schedule to be showcased around the community. These connections can be initiators for future work in the community, but fail in providing significant revitalization momentum in the short term. The strategic plan will help to build community art projects for the future and seeks to continue the engagement work, but it has not yet fostered many physical adaptations of the community's ideas, and the initiative does not seem to have led to any build up or clustering of artists in the area currently. Nicodemus points out how the unclear objectives of the plan, and uncertainty from the community was a major challenge for this planning process (Nicodemus, 2012). The planning process had an opportunity to produce a tangible result from the plan, but to date the implementation of ideas or projects has not happened in the community. Nicodemus also discusses the lack of financial support for a more durable planning process, after Professor Blue's initial grant and help from the University of Houston finding additional funding was extremely difficult part of creating the change in the community (Nicodemus, 2012). This could also explain why the strategic planning process did not include any immediate physical changes. What will occur in Southeastern Houston is yet to be seen, but the takeaway is that while the

planning process was a success for this African American community, the community needs broader public commitment to advance tangible goals, secure financial resources and complete successful launch projects to legitimize and sustain the engagement process where community worked to present their ideas for the future.

## **CASE STUDY ANALYSIS**

For any community aiming to create economic development using art, a key factor is involves creating artistic clusters that include physical spaces, public art activity and groups of artists working in and activating a community. As the case studies suggest, leadership and engagement by individual and dedicated community-based groups is needed to plan and catalyze new development. In all, the cases utilize a person or people that are invested in the community as catalysts crucial to pushing projects through to completion. Southeastern Houston used the passion of Professor Blue to start the strategic planning process for the community, but she was asked to carry too hefty a load to complete the tasks that the strategic plans suggests. The Pennsylvania Avenue example of a strong community group being the driving force behind the development represent a more sustainable model for long term revitalization projects. Having a highly dedicated lead organization based in the community was central in the more successful cases.

Another important factor in the success of each case study was the strategic partnerships that helped secure significant funding for initiatives and specific projects. Private and non-profit entities such as SEND, LISC, BGC, and others were significant in making the foundational investments and working capital to create artistic clusters. This is important as a way to create funding for artists, who are historically low-income, to be able to lease or own space in the newly developing area. The Fountain Square case study used both important historic buildings, The Murphy and The Wheeler, as places where private developers can support artistic housing and studios. Public support in the Penn Ave case, allowed for the public sector to use buildings that they have acquired during foreclosure as building blocks for the community and development groups to build wealth in communities. Both public and private partnerships are evident in each of the cases and are necessary to create the capital and assets to support revitalization. Leadership, community catalyst organizations and partnerships with other institutions are critical ingredients of the three successful cases, leading to the characteristics of the successful economic development endeavors associated with the creation of artistic clusters.

The creation of artistic clusters that help activate revitalization initiatives, the main subject of this report, was a significant element in three of the four case studies. The main tools used to create clusters was creating access or ownership opportunities for living and working spaces and targeted support to encourage artistic and cultural activity. In the North Shore Collinwood case, a home buying assistantship program was

used to target artists that would like to move the Collinwood because of the historic entertainment scene. Using the pre-existing lineage and conditions of the community to help build the future. The home buying program is important because ownership in the area helps artists become more resilient to the higher land values that can emerge with redevelopment and the associated property tax and home upkeep costs. The Fountain Square case used residential programs for artists as well, but also added workspaces for artists in the two core locations on the Fountain Square corridor. The added workspace does create excitement, as artists can actively create and publicize their work in the same area, which is another effect of a cluster.

Perhaps the best case for creating a strong artistic cluster is the Pennsylvania Avenue initiative in Pittsburgh. Penn Ave was able to decrease vacancy rates and add spaces for artists to create and to own properties in the area. The difference between other cases and Penn Ave. is the art installations that were built in the area and the designed collaborations that were related to broader initiatives. The communicative aspect allowed the different art programs, such as BOOM Concepts and Assemble to coordinate efforts together for using supplies and supporting each other's events. This synergy was on full display by Penn Ave's "Unblurred" which allowed each groups artistic works to be placed on display and showcased to the city. Many people called it the most important success of Penn Ave because it was a recurring reminder to the community and city about what Penn Ave had to offer.

The Penn Avenue revitalization is a compelling demonstration of how and through what channels an artistic cluster can build a community and expand economic activity. This a classic illustration of an artistic dividend; artists can create, promote, and sell their products while attracting more people to visit and make purchases from other businesses in the area. The dividend in the Penn Ave case seems to be sustainable and no longer relies on help of the initial catalyst organizations to continue the success of the development. The other two cases did focus on and generate artistic and cultural activity, but do not yet demonstrate the sustainable and growing artistic dividends prominent in Penn Ave area.

A common and concerning theme for all three of the more developed cases is that none of them succeeded with engaging Black or low-income communities in their areas. Because each of these three had some clustering artists and some artistic dividend that drove the redevelopment process and improved the community. Yet as noted, in each case there was push from Black communities and low-income communities who felt that they did not benefit from the revitalization processes. The cases discussed in this analysis did not organize or engage with these communities' in the planning and pre-development stages, leaving the outcomes up to chance. Southeastern Houston Arts Initiative did take on the challenge of organizing the existing residents and it lead them to creating a strategic plan that successfully engaged communities of color and low-income households. However, this initiative has been stymied by lack of resources or broader support from the public, private and non-profit sectors.

## **CHAPTER 3: ARTS EFFECTS ON URBAN ENVIRONMENT**

The specific focus of this report is in better understanding the opportunities and barriers for community revitalization based on the development of artistic and cultural activities in low-income and Black communities. The three cases profiled above show how clusters can create a dividend and boost revitalization. I now explore how these types of strategies might work in a low income African American community in Milwaukee that has been subject to a long history of segregation, discrimination and disinvestment. The one case that provides some insights for this question is the Southeastern Houston initiative which took time to engage the community and create a strategic plan to combat against unintended or unforeseen consequences, and placed the community at the center of shaping plan goals. This is the component that other cases were missing and failed to anticipate. A combination of the first three cases and the organizing framework of Southeastern Houston case can inform a city like Milwaukee how to create a strong artistic by engaging the communities that have been most affected by Milwaukee's discriminatory history.

### **MILWAUKEE'S HISTORY OF DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION**

The history of Milwaukee is not vastly different than most urban cities in the United States in terms of discriminatory practices. The way Milwaukee has responded to its discriminatory practices, in my view, positions the city to have major race problems for years to come (e.g. Ferguson and Baltimore). Milwaukee's segregation problems have remained since the Jim Crow Era. Nearly 90% of all Black citizens still live in the city and Milwaukee Metro Area has the lowest level of Black suburbanization in the U.S. (Sanchez 2017). The purpose of this statistic is not to assume that strictly allowing more Black citizens into suburban areas will fix the discriminatory past, but it does shed light on how few Black people have been able to move freely across the greater Milwaukee region. Their entrapment in central cities areas is not a function of chance but one of discriminatory zoning across the metro region and lending practices as related to homeownership. Milwaukee continues to be a segregated city years after the acceptability of overt racism has waned. To fully understand the development of discrimination and segregation in the City of Milwaukee the full Milwaukee County regional context must be analyzed. This section of the report will specifically focus on the 53206-zip code that has a high concentration of African American residents. Also, I explore how this area and its struggles can be traced back to the planning initiatives that caused the devolution of the Bronzeville cultural area and the legacy of Black culture in Milwaukee.

Milwaukee's issues of race date back to the beginning of the "Great Migration." Black people migrated to the North escaping from the racism and prejudice of the South, with the prospect of living wage jobs in Northern factories. "By the end of 1919, some 1 million blacks had left the South, usually traveling by train, boat or bus; a smaller number had automobiles or even horse-drawn carts" (Trotter, 2007). Milwaukee's Black population began to increase between 1870-1910 as more industrial jobs were created in the North, and this time period is considered to be when most black "ghettos" were formed (Trotter, 2007). In Milwaukee, Black migrants faced a much different reality than they expected coming to the North. "As Afro-American increased their numbers within northern cities, they became increasingly segregated within the spatial, economic, social, and political structures of the city," due to fear from Northern Whites regarding job prospects and quality housing (Trotter, 2007). This is a trend that would not subside as the decades passed creating a difficult environment for Black people to thrive socially, economically, and politically. Discrimination was more than just an impediment to Black people excelling in areas deemed "For Whites Only" but it prevented their growth and advancement in their own communities. Black businesses and professionals aiming to build strong pillars of the community dealt with racial animosity that limited the scope of their business or practices, but also prevented them from learning valuable skills through educational opportunities provided by public institutions. To solidify the spatial segregation in urban areas and maintain wealth for white citizens, many urban areas began to zone cities by race, "zoning decisions are therefore motivated by the desire to preserve home values and the quality of amenities and infrastructure that make for a desirable community" (Whittemore, 2016). Leading to creating political justifications for racially discriminatory actions that was based on limiting the competition of Black populations and other poor working-class people.

# Redlining in Milwaukee County

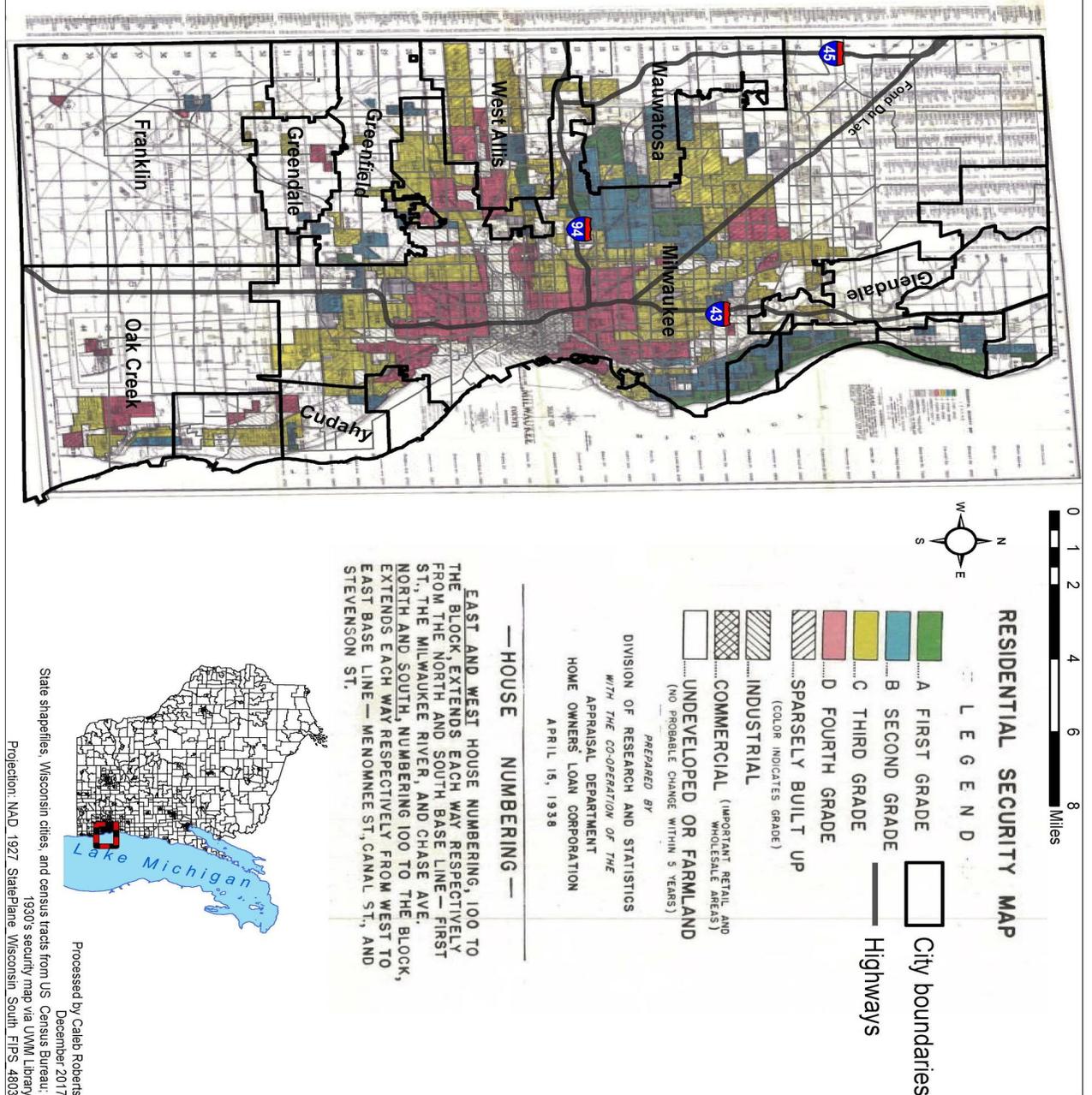


Figure 1: Redlining Map (2015 ACS 5 year estimate, UWM)

Even after racial zoning was determined to be illegal by the Supreme Court in 1917, cities still wanted to determine ways they could prevent white homeowners from living integrated lives with “undesirable” people. Redlining by banks and mortgage institutions became the preferred mechanism for cities to truly promote segregation by attaching the “undesirable” class to the label of being “bad for business or a financial risk to the areas they inhabit. Urban planners then begin to relate race to larger planning issues, and claim that their exclusion of certain races from an area was because they wanted to protect the property value of that area (Whittemore, 2016). The effect was exactly the same as racial exclusionary zoning, without the open discriminatory character of the regulation. Financial institutions would begin to rate areas that they deemed as declining or hazardous and would use these maps to dictate who they would provide loans to, or the rate of the loan that they would provide. The least desirable places would be marked in red, hence redlining, to prevent any banking institution from doing business in that area or banks would increase interest rates as a way of compensation for doing risky business. In Milwaukee, this was also a common practice. In the 1930’s Milwaukee County published its own example of a redlining map.

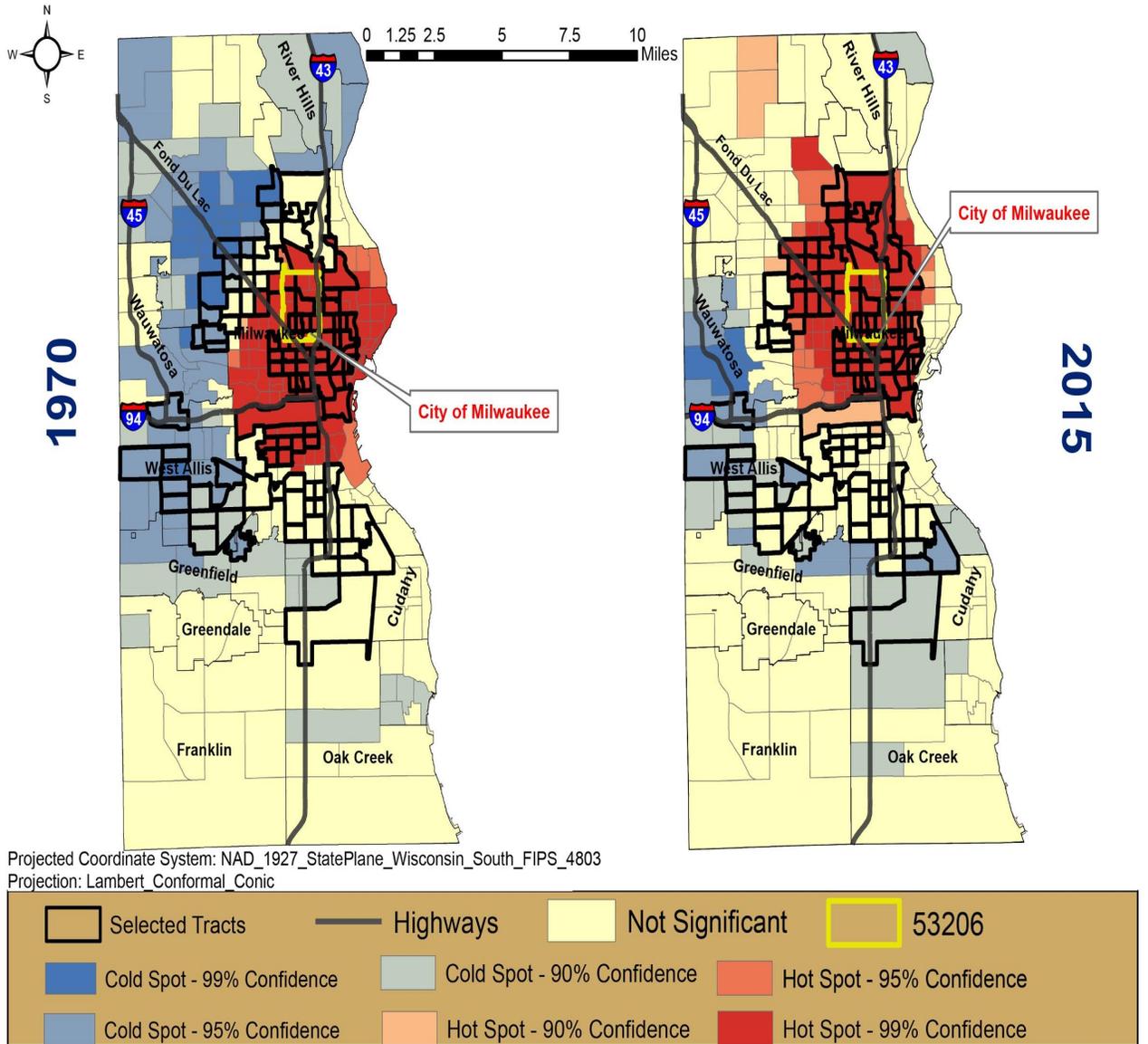
Figure 1, above, illustrates how redlining took place during the earlier process of racial segregation in Milwaukee. The ideology for redlining was to control property values, as stated before, and properties (especially housing) are assets that tend to be held by the same person or someone in that lineage and increase in value over time. Redlining was a plan to hold power in the white community for years to come and not just the immediate future. Dr. Andrew Hanson, in a Marquette University study, stated that, “Looking just at the response rates of mortgage loan originators, the effect of being African-American is equivalent to the effect of having a credit score that is 71 points lower” (Hanson, Hawley, Martin & Liu, 2016). The long term effects of redlining are still being felt by Black residents and homeowners in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Due to redlining, white families began to move outside of the city into the suburbs surrounding Milwaukee, as seen in Figure 2, below.

The juxtaposition of 1970 and 2015 is important because it shows that even as the city changes there is a durable trend in the way that race and wealth are concentrated in the metro region. Because of exclusion in the private property market and the suppression of property value appreciation in Black communities via redlining and lending practices, asset building and wealth in Milwaukee’s Black community has stifled. “The typical White family with a head who has a graduate or professional degree has greater than \$200,000 more wealth than the typical similarly educated Black family—\$293,100 versus \$84,000 in median wealth” (Hamilton and Darity 2017). This wealth discrepancy provides a lot of context for the current socioeconomic characteristics of Milwaukee.

The wealth discrepancy can be also be considered as a structural factor that throttled the development and evolution of the culture that Black people brought to Milwaukee during the great migration. Cultural centers, such as Bronzeville, was a heart of African American culture during the Great Migration. Johnson explains the Bronze expression in the name Bronzeville was created as a push back against racist expressions and stereotypes placed on Black neighborhoods (Johnson 2013). These cultural centers were the pinnacle of Black society in cities such as Milwaukee, and Bronzeville served as outlet for Black culture and social engagement that was suppressed in other parts of the city. Discrimination stimulated the evolution of Bronzeville as both a cultural nexus and a center of Black businesses and community life ranging from banks and churches to grocery stores and restaurants (Johnson, 2013). Clubs and theaters added a cultural dimension to Bronzeville, bringing in talents such as: Billie Holliday, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Dizzy Gillespie, and Nat “King” Cole (Johnson 2013). The areas vibrant cultural and artistic activity attracted people of all races to Bronzeville, but it was the Black co-location and influence that developed a culture hub in this area.

After 40 years as a vibrant center of black business and culture, Bronzeville was bulldozed in the 1960’s to make way for the building of Interstate-43 (Johnson 2013). This highway project destroyed the major cultural and business hubs of the Black community. Ironically, the highway project as a tool for moving white suburban citizens to and from the central city after they had fled due to high amounts of Black in-migration helped create one of the most segregated cities in the United States.

# Hot Spot Analysis: Housing Vacancies



Produced by Caleb Roberts December 2017

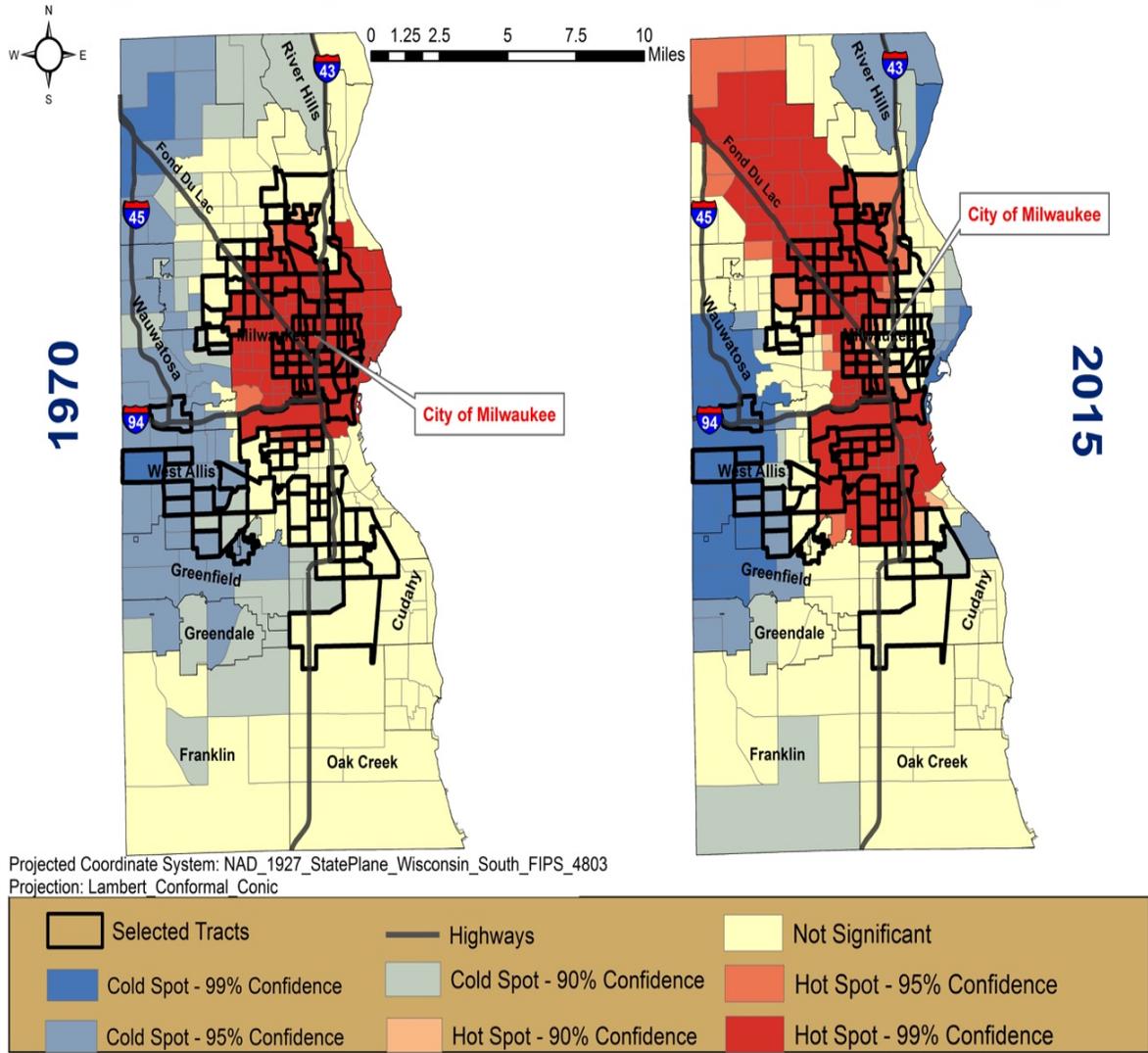
Sources: County boundary and streets: Milwaukee County; Census Tracts: US Census Bureau; Job, Housing, Education, Demographic, Poverty data: Census 1970 on 2010 Geographies, and 2015 ACS 5 year composite

Figure 2: Hot Spot Analysis, Housing Vacancies (1970 US Census Bureau, 2015 ACS 5-year estimate Data)

The dismantlement of Bronzeville to make way for the interstate highway is emblematic of the role that planning played in the broader process of discrimination and segregation. Segregation in Milwaukee has been shaped by planning processes that concentrated Black bodies in specific geographic areas. Segregation, even after *Brown v. Board of Education* and Civil Rights Act, was enacted by public policy and public agents for the "betterment" of the city. There are now specific areas in which Black people live and in the present day the location of Black people is a form of control under the white racial frame. Not only did the process of constructing highways contribute to segregating black people into geographic regions, but it bulldozed an area of town that was a thriving district and cultural nexus for Black people.

Planning decisions and actions are heavily implicated in the trapping of Black people in the central city and the dismantlement of the economic and cultural opportunities that had been endogenously built up by the African American community. This is the basis of many of the discriminatory practices that occur in the present context in Milwaukee but only touches the surface of how segregation and entrapment has stifled economic growth for Black people and concurrently limited artistic expression and activity. Figure 2 shows the growth of redlining and how it has affected Black housing from the near 100 years after the redlining map was published. From 1970 to 2015 the hot spot analysis, which displays where the data is the most active and inactive by displaying the data as hot and cold zones, locates where the vacancies are most prevalent in the city, and Figure 3 below locates the "warmest" collection of building vacancies on the Northside of town that correlates directly to the location of Black population over the years (see Figure 2). Based on the article published by Hamilton and Darity, Milwaukee has set up a system that will prevent Black families from growing economically (Hamilton and Darity, 2017). Neighborhoods that were once growing because of the jobs available during the Great Migration have stagnated and declined due to the injustice of redlining and more recent processes of economic restructuring that have destroyed family supporting jobs. It is difficult to formulate a clean causation between redlining and economic disparity in Black communities, but the visual representation in the maps suggest a striking correlation.

# Hot Spot Analysis: Families Below Poverty Line



Produced by Caleb Roberts December 2017

Sources: County boundary and streets: Milwaukee County; Census Tracts: US Census Bureau; Job,Housing,Education, Demographic, Poverty data: Census 1970 on 2010 Geographies, and 2015 ACS 5 year composite

Figure 3: Hot Spot Analysis, Families Below Poverty Line (1970 US Census Bureau, 2015 ACS 5-year estimate Data)

Figure 4, below, connects the story of redlining and disinvestment to current indicators of distress and poverty. This map shows most of the census tracts that were redlined currently contain a high-level of families living below the poverty line. Again causality cannot be determined by the analysis conducted in this report, but the optics paint of picture of poverty being strongly associated with the history of redlining (Figure 1) and the location of Black residents in Milwaukee (Figure 2). It should also be noted that the rise of the Hispanic population has also coincided with Hispanic people being clustered just south of the city's center, which is also a place experiencing high levels of poverty in 2015 (Figure 2 & 3). The location of the 53206 zip code is positioned in the middle of the areas of high vacancies and poverty. The southern area of the 53206 zip code is the location of Bronzeville, the eastern border of the 53206 ends at I-43, the highway that traversed through the Bronzeville area and now separates a zip code considered one of the worst in the United States from the more prominent, gentrified East Side of Milwaukee.

From past to present, Milwaukee is riddled with examples of discrimination and its effects. The comparisons between the City of Milwaukee and the rest of Milwaukee County can be viewed as an indictment of the culture of the area, an indictment on Northern discrimination. To combat this reality strong public investment is needed, but first the area must come to terms with the history of Milwaukee and how it has used racial lines to determine quality of life for over a century. This issue is not one that will go away with time without addressing the persistent nature of discrimination and how it still plays a part in Milwaukee's current culture. "But the better part of American history indicates that as long as most whites' desire for segregation remains, planners, builders, bankers, brokers, politicians, and other development actors will find a way to achieve it in order to benefit from keeping the majority white real estate market satisfied" (Whitmore, pg.17). That is the framework that has kept racial discrimination so strong in Milwaukee and must be the first ideology addressed before change can commence.

## **THE 53206**

The 53206 is a zip code plagued with the ill effects of discrimination and disinvestment. According to the 53206 documentary, a visual documentary analyzing the effect of the prison industrial complex on an area, Wisconsin as a whole has the highest percentage of incarcerated Black men and 62% of Black men in the zip code have been/ or are in jail. According to a report conducted by the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee's Center for Economic Development, the 53206 zip code has been in decline for more than a decade (Levine, 2014). Looking back at the maps in chapter 3, the 53206 has experienced the negative side of urban life since the 1970s. In the past decade and a half the socio economic status of the area has been plummeting significantly,

**Social and Economic Change in 53206:  
2000-2012**

Indicator	2000	2012	% change
<b>Male Employment Rate (20-64)</b>	47.8	36.3	-24.1%
<b>Female Employment Rate (20-64)</b>	47.4	50.3	+6.1%
<b>Poverty Rate</b>	39.2	47.7	+21.7%
<b>Children Poverty Rate</b>	51.1	66.8	-30.7%
<b>Median Household Income*</b>	\$27,715	\$22,962	-17.1%
<b>Vacant Housing Rate</b>	11.8	21.8	+84.7%
<b>High Rent Burden Rate</b>	41.8	68.6	+64.1%
<b>High School Graduate Rate</b>	57.6	71.7	+25.0%
<b>College Graduate Rate</b>	4.2	7.1	+69.0%
<b>Population**</b>	32,868	28,210	-14.2%
<b>Total Jobs***</b>	2,031	1,907	-6.1%
<b>Total Number of Employed Residents</b>	7,566	7,120	-5.9%
<b>Total Number of Businesses</b>	180	186	+3.3%
<b>Aggregate Income****</b>	\$447.5m	\$311.5m	-30.4%

\*Inflation-adjusted to 2012 dollars

\*\*Population in 2000 and 2010, from census enumeration

\*\*\*Jobs totals from 2002 and 2011, from LEHD data series

\*\*\*\*Inflation-adjusted to 2012 dollars

Table 2: 2000-2012 change 53206 (Levine, 2014)

The above table shows the significant dip in most socioeconomic indicators from 2000-2012. Household income decreased by 17% and vacancy rates almost doubled in the zip code. In terms of employment, female employment grew by 6.1% due to the types of jobs that are available in the area, which are fields that are mostly dominated by women. Male employment fell by almost a fourth and coincides with the high levels of incarcerations in the city. The poverty and child poverty rates are the truly telling statistics, as nearly half of all people in the 53206 are living in poverty and two thirds of children are experiencing poverty. These statistics point out how the 53206 is a microcosm of how the entire city has changed over the last two decades.

The City of Milwaukee is aware of the historical impact of Bronzeville and in 2005 created steps that would help revitalize the area, and have provided the basis for an artistic dividend. The Redevelopment Authority of Milwaukee wanted to showcase Bronzeville as a cultural and entertainment district. The attempt of the project was to create economic development through capturing the enthusiasm that once filled the Bronzeville area according to Milwaukee's redevelopment strategy ("Bronzeville Cultural and Entertainment District", 2018). The crux of the plan revolves around the home ownership and artistic development plan that would help build Bronzeville back into a cultural and entertainment hub. The Bronzeville website, inside of the Milwaukee.gov portal, links to multiple home buying programs that provide: home ownership loans, city real estate for sale, ready to go homes, and sites where new construction is possible (Bronzeville, 2018). Also, a publicly funded program to create livable work spaces to entice artists into homeownership called the ARCH program, Art and Resource Community Hub (Bronzeville, 2018).

Currently the 53206 and Bronzeville is home to cultural and artistic festivals, as well as important community organizations. Bronzeville holds conferences, festivals, and local events along its main corridor on Dr. Martin Luther King Drive (Bronzeville, 2018). Two main anchors of activity are the Milwaukee Urban League, a non-profit dedicated to pushing Black residents into the economic and social mainstream; and Garfield 502, a music venue and restaurant. These are supposed to be areas that anchor artists to the area and create artistic clusters. Milwaukee has employed many tools to create an artistic dividend in the area but failed in making any clusters over the past decade to a decade and a half. The failure in clustering artists is why the 53206 and Bronzeville has not reversed the ill effects of segregation and disinvestment but still has the ingredients to create an artistic dividend.

## **CHAPTER 4: REVITALIZATION OPPOROTUNITIES FOR THE 53206**

Robyn Kelley's assessment of the need for the Black Imaginary to lead the plans of the future, is in part a call to incorporate Black ideals and thoughts into the physical environment. This report defines the act of connecting the imaginary to physical space as an artistic expression. The expression provides a counter narrative in communities around the United States in which Black thought is not celebrated or even identifiable in the urban construct. Moreover, producing physical representations of the Black imaginary can lead to positive gains for a broader city/region. The second chapter discussed how an artistic dividend can be created and the effects that a strong dividend can have on the surrounding areas. Making the move to support the imaginaries of Black artists is more than just a social consciousness movement, but one of economic vitalization. In cities such as Milwaukee an economic growth initiative based in Black thought does more than just engage the city, it can also work to heal a city. The City of Milwaukee has created an opportunity to mitigate the effect of years of disinvestment around the Bronzeville area and build economic vitality inside the community by supporting the Black Imaginary that has been diminished through racist public policies. Not only does it have the opportunity, but holds the requisite resources of artists to create the change needed but needs to build the cluster of artists for the redevelopment plans to be successful.

### **LOCATION QUOTIENTS FOR ARTISTS**

The ability to create an artistic dividend in the Milwaukee region is influenced by the regions existing artistic specializations and clusters of artists. It may difficult to estimate the potential of an artistic dividend approach to urban change because of the difficulty in assessing the number of artists in a region and their cumulative effect on an area. Comparing region to region is one way to crudely gauge concentration of artistic and cultural employment in a metro. To analyze Milwaukee's specializations, location quotients are a useful tool for assessing a region's degree of specialization in various artistic and cultural occupations. Location quotients refers to the share of occupational employment in an economic sector in a region compared to the share of occupations of that sector nationally. (Markusen and King, 2003). High levels of specialization can indicate an area's potential for creating an artistic dividend from investments in the related sectors. Analysis of the location quotient can give some insight on to the opportunity Milwaukee possess for benefiting from an artistic dividend.

Region	Total Employment	Jobs per 1000 people	Location Quotient	Median Salary
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	37,730	14.4	1.07	\$48,470.00
Chicago-Naperville-Arlington Heights, IL Metropolitan I	52,200	14.25	1.06	\$48,600.00
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	12,680	12	0.89	\$41,930.00
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	13,860	13.46	1	\$38,970.00
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA Metropolitan Di	153,720	34.69	2.57	\$65,590.00
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	12,260	14.57	1.08	\$42,230.00
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	28,320	14.66	1.09	\$51,670.00
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	7,940	14.37	1.06	\$39,030.00
New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ Metropolita	170,260	25.44	1.88	\$67,370.00
Pittsburgh, PA	11,930	10.53	0.78	\$41,440.00
St. Louis, MO-IL	18,210	13.43	0.99	\$45,160.00

Table 3: Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations (OES Data, 2017).

Table 3, above, shows Milwaukee as having the second lowest amount of total employment into the arts occupation field. In terms of scale, Los Angeles and New York are standouts for the amount of employees that are working in the artistic, design, sports, and entertainment fields. These two centers of artistic and cultural production also have higher wages in the occupations than the other cities in the table. Milwaukee, however, does compete by registering fourth in the list when it comes to specialization as indicated by the location quotient value. With a location quotient of 1.08, Milwaukee is slightly more concentrated with employees in these occupations than the national average.

Milwaukee's location quotient for the art, entertainment, design, sports, and media occupations offers general support for the feasibility of generating an artistic dividend in the city or in specific neighborhoods. This location quotient estimate from the BLS does not take into account self-employed or part-time artists that would also add to the dividend, but the LQ value suggests that Milwaukee should not have a strong barrier for cultivating artistic talent. Location Quotations are important because they can indicate that a community has the one basic ingredient to benefit from the effects of co-location and artistic and cultural clusters. The numbers do support looking at the context of Milwaukee's artistic and cultural production for ways to support the growth of a strong artistic dividend.

The basis for this type of transformation is identified earlier in this report, throughout the case studies - incorporating the factors of race, class, culture, history, artists, and the public/ private sector to address issues in a specific area of the city/region. The case studies span communities that have strong diversity, histories of discrimination, and artistic origins; while at some point experiencing years of

socioeconomic struggle and created plans to change that narrative through the production, showcasing, and consumption of art. The case studies will be applied to the City of Milwaukee, specifically the 53206 zip code to inform ways to change the narrative and reality in the 53206 using Bronzeville as the point of emphasis.

Significant changes to neighborhoods that experienced disinvestment and decline have taken place in the case studies reviewed earlier, such as the Penn Ave and Fountain Square cases. Both areas were experiencing decline and did not give any indication that the market would naturally help these areas progress. Fountain Square shows how a community begins to decline after highway expansion breaks up an established community with historically strong artistic background, similar to I-43's effects on Bronzeville in Milwaukee. The community on Pennsylvania Avenue was not affected by highway expansion but experienced the same effects of declining areas with high crime, vacancy, and poverty rates. Fountain Square showcases private investment to change the environment around Fountain Square while Penn Ave chose to build a community group to address the negative conditions of the area. These cases are informative for analyzing potential ways that the historic Bronzeville experience can be used to help the growth of the 53206, unfortunately neither of these cases effectively helped most of the people who were struggling in the community. Both cases end with stories of the artists who helped with the cultural placemaking unable to afford to live in the area. The revitalization in these cases did not reach the citizens that struggled through the bad times in the community and those citizens are mostly Black. For the artistic dividend to impact the community in a positive manner, attention to racial and class characteristics of community residents must be foregrounded in the initial conceptualization and planning phases in order for the community to truly benefit from plans and investments into the area.

North Shore Cleveland and Southeastern Houston are better examples of how communities, that are majority Black, have been a more prominent beneficiaries of artistic investments. Both North Shore and Southeastern Houston used community art projects as the basis for their investment into the community. In Cleveland, the area had strong musical roots, but a steadily declining population. Benefiting from public programs and using private investment the North Shores Development Corporation helped people buy homes in the area. Admittedly, they did not do the best job in making sure Black residents in that area were a major part of the home buying effort. Upgrading and improvements and the seeding of new cultural and artistic activity can create an effect where Black residents will eventually move from the area because they do not have equity in the growth process as housing prices increase faster than incomes due to higher demand. In this case, private investment was critical to success but not enough community engagement was done to involve and accommodate citizens who have struggled in that area over the years.

Southeastern Houston, however, was able to produce a strong strategic plan with the help of a majority Black community. This plan will be in place for years to come and could potentially bring to fruition the thoughts and ideals of the community. However, to date this initiative has not succeeded in generating the public or private investment that led to the revitalization effects seen in Cleveland case. This is mainly due to the fact that Southeastern Houston's push was created by one person, Professor Blue, and not a strong organization such as the development corporation. In the report on Houston, Professor Blue did much of the heavy lifting in terms of creating, organizing, and executing the strategic plan. Professor Blue was effective in her approach, but with the help of a community group like Penn Ave or private investments like those in North Shore Cleveland and Fountain Square, Southeastern Houston could have significantly improved the conditions of the area.

In terms of the 53206 and Bronzeville, the work already put forth to create change in the area shows that the city believes that an artistic and cultural change can help Bronzeville regain its expression of culture. To build on the work already started attention needs to be paid to creating coalition between strong community organizations and public and private investors in order to build up artistic and cultural activity as a driver of area revitalization. This means engaging the community like Southeastern Houston was able to do, but also seeking out strategic public and private partners that will be able to invest the capital needed to create economic energy around the creation of art.

Bronzeville and the 53206 will need a collection of these kinds of changes to leverage an artistic dividend into economic change. Mainly, in looking for a catalyst to push the work forward. In the 2007, final redevelopment plan there was no community group or person who was tasked with leading the initiative and therefore the plan has seemingly lacked longevity. The city does not have the time or resources to do everything necessary to create clusters and ownership for the area.

## **CHAPTER 4: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

The creation of an artistic dividend is reliant upon a neighborhood's ability to create energy from the clustering of artists. The case studies that see the effects of the artistic dividend the best found a way to create space for artists and allow them to develop culture through their work. This is what sparked the economic benefit to the community because the places with clusters of artists made the area attractive. Studies like Southeastern Houston that took community involvement as seriously as the economics showcased how public, private, and community can work together to create the basis of culture in the area. All of these tools are needed to create an artistic dividend, and Milwaukee has showcased all of these precursors to success. The needs of the community are on a grand scale in Milwaukee and the 53206, building a culture that the residents identify with can help build a greater sense of pride in the area. This is why understanding the importance of the Black imaginary is critical because a cluster of Black artists can work to build neighborhoods that would-be counter to American society. Not only creating something that is economically revolutionary but an area that is inspired by a sense of self and energized by Black thoughts.

Drawing upon the findings of the case studies and the examination of the history and potential for revitalization it is necessary to identify organizations and actors in the community and in the city, that could be brought together to lead an initiative for Bronzeville. Organizations such as Milwaukee Inner City Congregations Allied for Hope (MICAH), Milwaukee Urban League, NAACP, and Running Rebels can serve as conduits to organizing the community to benefit from the investment in the area and creating a plan to how the area will change for the future. Each community group has a history of fighting for social justice in the inner-city of Milwaukee and would have the resources to maintain a program centered on the redevelopment of Bronzeville. MICAH is located just outside of the 53206 area and has been in the community since 1988. Its connection with over 40 congregations around the Milwaukee Metro area can provide organizing skills to push the initiative and citywide support. The Milwaukee Urban League has also been instrumental in creating programs for the youth. Through activities, classes, and philanthropy Urban League has showcased its ability to connect with the community and provide life-building

opportunities. To create a successful program one of these organizations, or similar organizations, should be at the forefront of the redevelopment plan to successfully follow through on the mission. Other organizations that are involved in art should be important aspects of the plan as well. Starting with art organizations such as True Skool Inc, Arts @ Large, and AWE that can facilitate artist's work and community art projects. The public and private sector can use the entities as organizations to invest money into that will help produce the art projects needed to build an artistic dividend.

Each of these potential organizational partners will be taken into account as I detail a set of specific recommendations for Milwaukee to build its artistic dividend, with the understanding that Milwaukee already holds the infrastructure to make that dividend possible. A set of important guidelines can be advanced based off the research conducted in this report.

## **GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL REVITALIZATION OF BRONZEVILLE**

### **1. Identify a catalyst, or champion.**

The catalyst or champion is critical to pushing the projects through to completion. Preferably they should be an organization over an individual, but will serve as the leader and ambassador for the community. Likely, to work best if they are located in the 53206 or neighborhoods close by. MICAH and Milwaukee Urban League are two examples of organizations ready to take the mantle and champion the project.

### **2. The catalyst should form strategic partnerships with public and private groups to create a coalition with investment dollars in mind.**

The catalyst needs help to invest in the area and should be a coalition based off of organizations/business who are looking to or willing to invest and also groups who would be invested in the positive growth of the neighborhood. Elected officials are vital to being spokespeople and gaining public support. Organizations such as the Helen Bader Foundation provide yearly funding to initiatives throughout the Milwaukee area.

**3. The City of Milwaukee should first look to utilize vacant homes and the Bronzeville home ownership assistance and ARCH programs.**

The City of Milwaukee owns number of buildings and homes in the area as their own due to foreclosure. The coalition should advocate for the city to donate those homes for the development of the area. This can give the coalition more flexibility on how to develop the community through the strategic plans, and areas where the coalition could encourage clustering of artists through live/work facilities. The programs will also help people gain stake in the community and develop with the area.

**4. The coalition must then work to engage a diverse community, especially artists, around creating a strategic artistic development plan.**

The engagement process should be vast and extensive, but using the historical feel of the community should always be emphasized. Talking about the music and business that Black people ran in Bronzeville and engaging citizens on how to honor that past as the develop the future. Looking for artists who are interested in connecting both past and future. Engaging with arts organizations such as: True Skool Inc, Arts @ Large, and AWE to connect with artists and especially Black Artists.

**5. The strategic plan should work to create ownership for artists and community members.**

The coalition should put forth a strategic plan that builds off of the 2007 plan implemented for Bronzeville. This plan should put forth standards for success that showcase how many artists and Black residents are benefiting from the programing in place. Also, reviewing how engagement work is being accomplished. The strategic plan is making certain that the communities goals are continuously being met.

**6. Point out specific places that will serve as the anchors for the community and bring other people in.**

The community needs place to gather and to showcase and celebrate their culture. With spaces and production from artists, this place can always be occupied by new art and experiences. Whether the location is Garfield 502, Milwaukee Urban League, or etc. the location where artists can showcase their talents are important attractors for the neighborhood. These places should encourage collaboration but also be utilized as places to express and understand culture.

Art is an expression by individuals or groups that showcases an idea using a creative medium. For the premise of this report, the medium is a neighborhood. Artists use their expression to express the ideas of the place they live and it begins to tell a story about the area. In the cases reviewed, that narrative may have been of music, community, etc.; but the key factor was how the people worked to define that story.

Stories become difficult to identify in places that have not been able to capitalize on the feelings of its neighborhood, Milwaukee suffers from that reality in many of its Black neighborhoods. Stemming from years of disinvestment there are gaps in the story, where residents of those communities have been forced to survive and cope and not to create and build. This is a travesty of place, removing its artistic nature and stagnating its story line. This, however, does not mean that there is no story or that the residents do not possess characteristics that are specific to their neighborhoods. It is in art form that the residents can showcase their culture in a way palatable for others around the city, region, and beyond. The fruition of this culture can be described as an artistic dividend. The result of individual artists breaking free of the constraints of disinvestment, racism, and the white racial frame to present their homes and neighborhoods as their own. A place that is built out of the Black conscious and connected to strong prosperous histories. This report believed that Milwaukee already has the tools for an artistic dividend and could produce this artistic dividend with a plan that would help create artistic clusters. Hopefully, this report has shown how clusters can be created in neighborhoods that have experienced segregation, racism, and disinvestment. Moreover, that a strategic plan in the hands of passionate people can use clustering to build their communities economically. The hopeful takeaway for Milwaukee's Bronzeville case is to find a way to create clusters and bring together a history of culture in the city that can develop into an artistic dividend. That would be a great indicator for the city as a whole and truly become the expression of the Black imaginary for a space.

## APPENDIX

Below is an explanation of the ArcGIS data that is presented in this report. ArcGIS is the software used for the creation of the maps for this report, specifically ArcMap and ArcCatalog. Microsoft Excel was also used to prepare datasets. Sources used for the spatial data were the US Census Bureau, American Community Survey, Milwaukee County, and Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. The methods to create this report will be listed below.

\*Variable Data= Job, housing, poverty, and education data

### Data Acquisition

The demographic and variable data was downloaded from Social Explorer by census tract in Milwaukee County. 1970 data was downloaded via the U.S. Census table. The 1970's data was downloaded using the 1970 Census on 2010 geographies in order to make up for the changes in configuration. 2015 demographic and variable data was downloaded from Social Explorer by census tract in Milwaukee County using American Community Survey 2015 (5-year composite) data. Wisconsin census tracts, Wisconsin cities, and state shapefiles downloaded from US Census Bureau. Milwaukee County boundary, Milwaukee streets, and Milwaukee County cities were downloaded from Milwaukee County's Open Data Portal. Lastly, the lake shapefiles were downloaded from Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. Redlining map downloaded from University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Library Collection.

### Data Preparation

All US Census and ACS data were downloaded on to Microsoft Excel to produce ArcMap ready tables. Both 1970 and 2015 data had to be condensed to fit the desired conclusions. Only the census tract number and name of census tract was kept, all other data until the Total population field was deleted. For jobs, private and public-sector data was added together to get total jobs (total jobs provided by the private and public sector, no data about self-employment was included). Coupling the new total jobs with number of employed people over 16 completes the job category, all other job data was deleted. For poverty, families below the poverty and total families were placed together for the poverty variable. For housing, coupling the total vacant units and total housing units is all the data needed for housing vacancy data. For educational data, the educational attainment field was chosen using Bachelor degree and population over 25 years old as the fields to display population data. In ArcCatalog, I projected all relevant shapefiles to NAD 1927 Wisconsin South FIPS 4803 (feet). In ArcMap, I added the Wisconsin census tract shapefile and the Milwaukee County boundary, then clipped the census tracts to the Milwaukee County boundary and named it Real\_Milwaukee. Then, I added another Real\_Milwaukee shapefile to the map before adding both the

1970 and 2015 datasets to the map. I proceeded to join one table to the Real\_Milwaukee shapefile, creating one with 2015 data and the other with 1970 data. After joining the tables to the shapefile, I exported the data to create new shapefiles with the joined data and named them 2015\_Master and 1970\_Master. Add Milwaukee County streets to the map and selected by attributes in the streets layer. Select street name, then the equal sign and select unique values, choosing HWY as the value then select ok. Export the selected data and save it as Highways.

### Study Site Characteristics

#### Redlining Map (With inset)

- Add map to ArcMap as data and not an image
- Add Real\_Milwaukee shapefile
- Using Georeferenced tool overlay Real\_Milwaukee map over redlining map
- Using anchor points associate common points on both map to join them together
- Make 4 to 5 points, then complete the Georeferenced function
- Hollow the fill of Real\_Milwaukee fill to see the other map beneath
- Use select attributes to choose census tracts that best encompass the third and fourth grade areas on redlining map
- Export selected data and save as Selected\_Tracts
- Add Selected\_Tracts to map (hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.6)
- Add Highways and label them
- Add Milwaukee Cities, hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.
- Label cities
- Cut legend from UWM website and added it to the map

#### Inset Map

- Add National state map, Wisconsin census tracts, and lake shapefile
- Send National State Map and census tracts to the back and hollow out the fill
- Increase outline weight of census tract map to 2.5
- Change Lake colors to blue
- Label all states and lakes
- Add extent indicator using the relining data frame

#### Demographics (Steps for both frames)

- Add 2015\_Master and 1970\_Master to two different data frames
- Symbolizing both maps by dot density
- Using race/ethnicity as the variable (Black, White, and Hispanic/Latino)
- I used the octagon symbol with different colors for each variable
- Set dot size to 6, dot value to 100, maintain by dot size
- Add Selected\_Tracts to map (hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.6)
- Add Highways and label them
- Add Milwaukee Cities, hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.
- Label cities

### Site Analysis

- Variable Map Analysis (Steps for both 1970 and 2015)
  - Add 2015\_Master and 1970\_Master to two different data frames

- Each variable should have its own map
- Symbolize the variable by quantity
- Vacancy
  - Value: Vacant Units
  - Normalization: Total Units
  - Show as percent
- Poverty
  - Value: Families Below Poverty Line
  - Normalization: Total Families
  - Show as percent
- Jobs
  - Value: Total jobs
  - Normalization: Employed persons over 16
  - Show as a decimal
- Education
  - Value: Bachelor Degrees
  - Normalization: Population 25 and over
  - Show as percent
  - Keep number of classes consistent from 1970 to 2015 for best comparisons
  - Add Selected\_Tracts to map (hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.6)
  - Add Highways and label them
  - Add Milwaukee Cities, hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.
  - Label cities

#### Hot Spot Analysis (Steps for both 1970 and 2015)

- Add 2015\_Master and 1970\_Master to two different data frames

Each variable should have its own map

- Search for the Hot Spot Analysis and use the tool
- Add either 1970 or 2015 layer
- Select one of the variables
- Add Selected\_Tracts to map (hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.6)
- Add Highways and label them
- Add Milwaukee Cities, hollow the fill and increase outline weight to 2.
- Label cities

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